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will tend almost irresistibly to turn them back into the very barbarism from which so much has been done to redeem them. The veneer of modern military tactics, long-range rifles and glittering bayonets, with which it is proposed to seduce the Indian boys, will not make the thing a mite different from the nature cultivated by the warwhoop, the war dance, the tomahawk and the scalping knife.

The educated Indians of the nation, who have already begun to feel the ennobling power of the new life which has been opened to them through the influences of Carlisle, and the schools of the Indian Territory and elsewhere, must naturally feel insulted that the lads of their race are to be considered valuable chiefly because their inheritances make it easy to convert them into fighting-machines and "food for powder." They will desire these boys to go for their education to other schools, where they will not be subject to this degradation, and it would be a great service to the nation and to civilization in general if they should arouse among the Indian tribes themselves such opposition to the new scheme that they would not send a single boy or girl hereafter to Carlisle, and thus force the school to return to its former condition or close its doors and quit.

The Eighteenth of May.

The 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of the Hague Conference six years ago, is destined to come speedily into general observance as international peace day. At least in this country is this the case. In our last issue we called attention to the fact that the numerous Circles of the great Chautauqua Association throughout the nation will observe the day this year and hereafter annually; and that the editor of the *Ohio School Journal* has prepared a program for the observance of the day this year in the schools of Ohio.

The American Peace Society three years ago adopted this as the date of holding its annual meetings. Most of the other peace societies have done the same. The Peace and Arbitration Committee of the National Council of Women from the very first chose the 18th of May for a universal demonstration of women in behalf of arbitration and peace.

Now comes the important action of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, through its secretary, Mr. George H. Martin, in urging the observance of the day in all the schools of the state. This action is so important that we print herewith in full his letter to the superintendents of schools sent out on the 11th of April:

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, ——— MASS.

Dear Sir: A statute which has made the school laws of Massachusetts famous for more than a century imposes upon all instructors of youth the obligation to use their

best endeavors to instill into the minds of the children and youth committed to their care the principles of "love of country, humanity and universal benevolence."

It has become a general practice in schools to stimulate the love of country by special exercises in connection with the public holidays, February 22, April 19 and May 30.

A favorable opportunity to cultivate the other two virtues, "humanity and universal benevolence," is now afforded in the setting apart of the 18th of May in commemoration of the opening of the Hague Conference, May 18, 1899. This day is to be widely celebrated in Europe and by numerous organizations in America.

The Board of Education recommends that appropriate exercises be held in the schools of Massachusetts on May 18 for the purpose of emphasizing the blessings of peace, of showing the superiority of arbitration over war, and of exalting the brotherhood of nations.

Such exercises might profitably include brief accounts of the settlement of recent international disputes by arbitration, together with quotations, readings and recitations concerning peace from the writings of Washington, Sumner and other statesmen, and from the poems of Holmes, Lowell and Whittier.

An appropriate motto for the day would be: God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE H. MARTIN,

Secretary.

School officials and associations in this country have been, for some unaccountable reason, rather slow in turning their attention to the movement for the promotion of international goodwill and the pacific settlement of disputes between nations. It is most encouraging that they are at last coming to the front and taking the matter up in earnest. The educators of the world once thoroughly devoted to the inculcation of right ideas of patriotism, of the brotherhood of men, and of the proper relations which nations ought to maintain toward each other, and no war would ever again be possible between countries in which general education prevails.

The American Peace Society will be glad to aid, as far as possible, superintendents and teachers in arranging material for the observance of the 18th inst.

The Cost of War.

It is not at all easy to write effectively on the cost of war, even when the figures are as enormous as they are at the present time. Every writer who attempts to set forth the ruinous effects of this evil by an exposition of its economic aspects finds himself compelled, in treating certain phases of the subject, to resort to statements of a general and indefinite character, which appeal only feebly to the ordinary imagination. Where definite arrays of figures can be given, the vast sums fail often to produce

any serious impression, because so many people have not imagination enough to take them in.

However, the cost of war and preparations for war is increasing nowadays in such a frightful way that it is compelling attention as never before, and this argument against resort to force in the settlement of disputes is now used perhaps more than all others. One of the most forcible of the recent articles on the subject is that by Mr. Charles J. Bullock in the April *Atlantic*.

The first section of Mr. Bullock's paper treats of the costs of war in a general way — costs moral, political, social and economic. On the moral side war, whatever virtues it may be thought to have, "arouses the most ignoble passions"; it produces "swindling army contractors," "the ghoul who despoils the bodies of the dead," and plunges unnumbered millions into "fierce and absorbing hate." "Barrack life is a seminary, and a standing army a national clearing house of hideous vice" The political evils of war are public extravagance and dishonesty, speculation and corruption. On the social side, "the spirit of militarism erects a superior caste which demands and receives the homage due superior beings," and social ideals are lamentably inverted.

Under the economic costs of war Mr. Bullock places the destruction of property during military operations, the loss occasioned by the interruption of industry and trade, the destruction of economically valuable lives, the expense of maintaining armies and fleets in time of peace, as well as the direct expenses of actual warfare. Many of these costs he declares to be of such an intangible character that they "defy measurement" and "baffle statistical inquiry."

In section second of this essay Mr. Bullock studies the military expenditures of three leading nations, Great Britain, Germany and France. He traces the transition from the feudal to the standing army, which was effected by the close of the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century "Europe fairly groaned under the burdens which militarism entailed." With the standing army came perpetual contributions instead of occasional grants of money. Gunpowder greatly increased the cost of warfare, and with it came "the invention of national debts." The credit of the nation took the place of the private credit of monarchs, and thus through only a moderate increase of taxes it became "possible to indulge in a continuous orgy of fighting and spending."

The debt of England in 1689 was only £1,054,000. By 1713 it had increased to £53,680,000. Then after twenty-six years of peace the trouble with Spain and the War of the Austrian Succession carried it up to £78,000,000. The Seven Years' War raised the debt to £139,500,000, and the American Revolution to £238,000,000. During

the periods of peace there were only slight reductions. By 1816 the wars with France had raised the debt to what Mr. Bullock ironically calls the "noble figure of £876,000,000." The annual interest by this time had increased to £32,450,000, or sixteen times what it was at the accession of William and Mary. The same process in the main had gone on with the French debt, and later with that of Germany.

Mr. Bullock expresses "the chief financial results" of the last thirty years of armed peace, during which the national debts have in the aggregate doubled, in a table showing that Great Britain, Germany and France have spent respectively on their army and navy, in 1873, 120, 83.4 and 111.7 millions of dollars; in 1883, 135, 101.7 and 166 millions; in 1893, 166.3, 166.7 and 173.9 millions; and in 1903, 344.7, 217.5 and 200.2 millions. Nor is there, he says, any possibility of seeing any relief in sight. The increase in these expenses has been much greater than the growth of population. Practically the whole debt of Great Britain is the result of war, and not less than eighty per cent. of that of the other two countries. Adding the cost of pensions and the interest on the debts, Mr. Bullock reaches the conclusion that at the present time Great Britain is spending annually on these war items \$11.20 per capita of her population, France \$9.69 and Germany \$4.61. But as only two out of five of the population are engaged in gainful occupations, these sums must be multiplied by two and one-half in order to show the burden of militarism which each bread-winner has to bear.

Mr. Bullock thinks that this condition of things is one which the reader "will do well to recall when next he proposes to decide a dispute by the aid of gunpowder bought with borrowed money which his children's children will hardly repay." Every sensible man, it seems, would think so too.

"The experience of Europe," he argues, "teaches that national debts would hardly be known, and taxation might be so moderate as to surpass belief, if it were not for war and the burdens which it entails."

Then, in the third section of the article, he proceeds to show that our own financial history teaches the same lesson. From 1792 to 1810 the annual interest payment on the debt, occasioned chiefly by the War for Independence, was about thirty to forty per cent. of the entire government outlay. The rest of it was in considerable measure consumed on the army, the navy and military pensions, the civil expenditures being only about twenty-five cents per capita as against from four to seven times that amount for the war charges. The War of 1812 carried the public debt from \$45,200,000 to \$127,300,000, besides raising the general scale of other expenditures.

Within the next two decades, which were years of peace, the national debt was entirely extinguished.

The Mexican War in 1846 added forty-eight millions to the small debt which had been occasioned by the financial panic of 1837. In 1860 the civil expenditure of the government was \$1.03 per capita, while that chargeable to war was 97 cents. At the close of the war, which had heaped up the vast debt so well known, the per capita charge on account of war and its burdens was, in 1870, \$6.15, while the civil expenditure was but \$1.46 per capita. During the next sixteen years the total expenditures of the government, in spite of the increase in pensions, had materially decreased, till in 1886 the per capita cost of government was only \$4.22.

Then came the period of naval expansion, etc., which has brought the per capita cost of government up to \$7.12, \$4.43 of which (sixty-two per cent.) is interest, pensions and armaments as against \$2.69 (thirty-eight per cent.) for all civil purposes. "With us, as with all other peoples," Mr. Bullock concludes, "the national government is, upon its financial side, mainly a huge machine for collecting money to meet the direct and indirect results of settling disputes by the appeal to arms." "For all the purposes of the taxgatherers, at least, we seem to have become a militant power."

Referring to the large increase of expenditures for military purposes since 1897, the average now being about two hundred millions annually, he says that "this result should surprise no one who is familiar with the history of military armaments." The deficits now occurring in the national revenues make it "clear that our existing revenue system is inadequate for the support of the national household in its present imperial state." The little economies which Congress is now, with some show of alarm, trying to practice, will be found useless. "So long as existing policies are unchanged, we shall be saving at the spigot and wasting at the bung." No imperial power can economize. Deficits must be met by more loans or new taxes. If we are going to continue "imperially minded," "we must learn to play the game of war as others play it, and not be guilty of such *gaucherie* as talking about economy." "We have changed our mode of living, and must now be ready to defray the bills as they come in. This is the one lesson taught by the history of militarism ever since the invention of gunpowder and public debts."

One cannot read the argument of Mr. Bullock's array of figures without asking himself how the people can be aroused to the perilous condition into which the nation has already fallen. The man in the street seems to know nothing, care nothing about it. To the average person of some intellectual development such an article as that of Mr. Bullock is little more than "polite literature." The big figures are a fine thing to amuse oneself with, and pride is taken by the average citizen in the fact that our country is soon to "go it one bigger" than any other

nation. The great money getters are delighted with a situation which enables them to exploit international disputes and the system of "skull-splitting," so as to amass huge fortunes and wield a power greater than that of kings and parliaments. The system of running war on borrowed money and huge debts, and allowing it to be turned by a few financiers into a colossal business enterprise, is about the greatest and most blinding evil with which civilization is now confronted. People do not even pause to think what it is going to mean to humanity when all the estates, the incomes, the wages of labor, the food, the clothing, the shelter, in fact, all the possessions and gains of all kinds, come to be loaded with imposts to meet the interest and principal of these colossal and ever-growing debts which the war system is saddling upon the world.

"Who shall deliver us from this body of death?"

Annual Meeting of the American Peace Society.

The Seventy-seventh Annual Business Meeting of the American Peace Society will be held in the Society's room, 31 Beacon Street, Boston, on May 18, at 2 o'clock P. M., to elect officers for the coming year, to receive the Annual Reports of the Board of Directors and of the Treasurer, and to transact any other business that may properly come before the meeting.

In the evening at 6.30 o'clock, at the rooms of the Twentieth Century Club, there will be a dinner for the members and their friends. The dinner will be followed by addresses on the present condition and prospects of the international peace movement. Hon. Robert Treat Paine will preside. Good speakers are expected, whose names will be announced in due time in special notices to all the members.

Tickets to the dinner will be one dollar each, and should be applied for as early as practicable.

Editorial Notes.

Efforts to End Wars.

In his address at Manchester, England, before the Peace Conference of business men held on the 28th of March, Sir Thomas Barclay referred to conversations which he had had with a Japanese statesman and a Russian gentleman, both of whom had told him that they would be glad to do all in their power to end the terrible war in the East, if he would only suggest some method of stopping it. Dr. Barclay said in reply to the question, How? "Nobody knows how to bring a war to an end when it has once begun. This is one of the worst sides of war." Nothing is truer. Looking back through recent history, it is